DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 406 823 FL 024 448

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TITLE	A View from the Cocoon--Space Categorization in the Korean Verb [na-ka-ta].
PUB DATE	Aug 96
NOTE	49p.; Journal published by the Cheju Linguistic Society.
PUB TYPE	Reports - Evaluative (142)
JOURNAL CIT	Journal of Linguistic Studies; v1 Aug 1996 p123-169
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Chinese; Contrastive Linguistics; Definitions; Foreign Countries; Japanese; *Korean; *Language Patterns; Language Research; Linguistic Theory; *Semantics; *Sociocultural Patterns; Uncommonly Taught Languages; *Verbs
IDENTIFIERS	South Korea

ABSTRACT

Analysis of the Korean verb "na-ka-ta" ("to get out, exit") focuses on why an expression such as "kyengkicang-ey na-ka-ta" ("someone goes out/in to the sports arena") is acceptable only in the context that the person's entering the arena is for the purpose of a contest, while it becomes semantically anomalous if intended to express the situation in which a custodian goes into the arena for routine maintenance purposes. Dictionary meanings of the compound "na-ka-ta" are examined in comparison with "tul-e-ka-ta," and a general schema of the verb "na-ka-ta" is offered to delineate two social domains, public and private space. The notion of public space is then elaborated upon. Correspondence of the Japanese verb "de-ru" to Korean "na-ka-ta" is illustrated, and the Chinese ideogram "chu" (first tone) contained in Sino-Japanese and Sino-Korean lexical items is examined. It is concluded that what we generally understand as a set of selection restrictions associated with a specific lexical item such as "na-ka-ta" may not be lexical restrictions, but instead reflect unique ways in which native speakers of a language perceive certain states of affairs. Contains 13 references. (MSE)

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A View from the Cocoon---Space Categorization in the Korean Verb (na-kata)

By Alan Hyun-Oak Kim

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A View from the Cocoon---Space Categorization in the Korean Verb ⟨*na-ka-ta*⟩*

Alan Hyun-Oak Kim**

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* I am grateful to Lionel Bender for his critical comments and most helpful editorial advice. I benifited from stimulating discussion with Chungmin Lee. I also thank Dale Buckstick.

1. Introduction

Public space such as institutional conferences, theatrical stages, sports arenas, art exhibitions, and the like are encoded in Korean with special status. Such spaces are always perceived as being conceptually greater in scale (independently from physical ones) as opposed to a cocoon-like private space. Such a perceptual disparity between public space and private space is best exemplified in the usage of the Korean verb *na-ka-ta* 'to get out,' or 'to exit.' The present paper, based on the cognitive-functional approach, offers an analysis accounting for why an expression like *kyengkicang-ey na-ka-ta* 'someone goes out to (or goes into) the sports arena' is acceptable only in the context that the person's entering the arena is for the purpose of a contest with other competitors or for other functions such as serving as an official or an umpire, while it becomes semantically anomalous if it is intended to express the situation where a custodian goes into the arena for the purpose of the routine maintenance. For the latter reading, *kyengkicang-ey tul-e-ka-ta* 'someone goes into the sports arena' would be more appropriate.

who made some further corrections on the final version of this manuscript.

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A parallelism is also found in the usage of the Japanese verb *de-ru* ('exit', 'emerge').

The present paper is organized in six parts. Following the introduction, I examine in the second section, the dictionary meanings of the compound *na-ka-ta* by contrasting it with *tul-e-ka-ta* 'to enter.' In the third section, I present a general schema of the verb *na-ka-ta* in order to delineate a set of two social domains---⟨public space⟩ and ⟨private space⟩, which condition appropriate usage of the verb in a sentence. In the fourth section I elaborate the notion of public space---not as mere public places but as a realm such as an examination site, a sports arena or a theatrical stage, in or on which a trajector (a participant) is under critical scrutiny of one kind or another. In the fifth section, I show how the Japanese verb *de-ru* 'to exit' tightly corresponds to the Korean *na-ka-ta*. In the same section, the Chinese ideogram *chu* (in the first tone) contained in Sino-Japanese and Sino-Korean lexical items is examined in terms of the proposed analysis. In the final and concluding section, I emphasize that what we generally understand as a set of selection restrictions associated with a specific lexical item like *na-ka-ta* may not be lexical restrictions after all. Such a set may be better analyzed as reflecting the unique ways in which

native speakers of a particular language perceive certain states of affairs, which is culturally biased and ingrained deeply in the network of the language.

2. Problems: Two kinds of dictionary meanings of *na-ka-ta*

Korean has a rich array of compound constructions consisting of two concatenated verbs, V1 and V2. The first component of such a construction plays the role of the predicate of a given sentence, while the second verb serves as an auxiliary to V1 with a wide range of functions including spatial orientation with reference to the speaker's locus, aspect, modality, negation, etc. Martin (1992:226-7) lists 37 such auxiliary function verbs.[1] V1 and V2 are mediated by one of the connecting morphemes such

1 Although they functions as auxiliaries, these V2 verbs are essentially common verbs and are used as predicates of sentences. Thus, when *peli* 'throw away' is used for auxiliary, it functions as perfective, as in the following examples.

(ex1) Chelswu-ka ku sosel-ul ssuleki thong-ey peli-ess-ta
Chelswu-NOM the novel-ACC trash-can to throw-PAST
'Chelswu threw the novel into the trash-can'

(ex2) Chelswu-ka ku sosel-ul halu pam-sai-ey ta
'Chelswu-NOM the novel-ACC one night during all
ilk-e-peli-ess-ta
read-throw-PAST
'Chelswu has read the novel through overnight'

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as *-e*, *-ko*, *-ci*, and *-ta(-ka)* to form strings like V1-*e*-V2 and V1-*ko*-V2.

The previous studies on compound verbs are devoted largely to two areas—(i) the semantic effects of connecting morphemes, and (ii) the deictic and perspective properties of V2, particularly when V2 takes the locomotive verbs *ka-ta* 'to go' and *o-ta* 'to come.'

The present study concentrates on one particular item of such compounds, *na-ka-ta* 'to get out of somewhere.' Morphologically the item *na-ka-ta* consists of *na-ta* ('to come into being,' 'to become,' 'to take place') as V1 and *ka-ta* as V2. Its deictic variant *na-o-ta* 'to come out of somewhere' and the antonymic *tul-e-ka-ta* 'to go in somewhere' or *tul-e-o-ta* 'to come in somewhere' are also discussed whenever they are needed.

The meanings of the verb *na-ka-ta* may be grouped grossly into three kinds, as illustrated in (1) - (3), which are all adopted from Martin et al. (1967). The first class is prototypical. The space to which a trajector 'gets out' is usually marked by the goal marker *ey* 'to,' or 'toward.'

(1) Class I (someone (or something) gets out of some place)
a. *ttul ey na-ka-n-ta* '(he) goes out to the garden'
b. *ku uy anay-nun cip ul na-ka-ss-ta* 'his wife has left home'

c. *yeki-se ppace na-ka-lswu-ka ep-ta* 'I cannot get out of here'

d. *pwul-i naka-ta* 'the light is out'

e. *kim na-ka-n-maykcwu* 'flat beer,' *cengsin-i na-ka-ss-ta* 'he is out of his mind'

f. *chayk-i cal na-ka-n-ta* 'a book sells well'

The second class has to do with certain public events or civil activities of one kind of another, as illustrated in (2)

(2) Class II (marked readings)

A. serves, is in service

a. *kwancheng-ey na-ka-n-ta* '(someone) is **in** the service of the government'

b. *kwunin-ulo na-ka-n-ta* '(someone) serves **in** the army'

c. *cip-uy hyeng-un hakkyo-ey na-ka-n-ta* 'my brother is teaching (working) **in** a school'

B. joins, takes part (in), enters, goes in (for) goes out (for)

a. *ollimphic-ey na-ka-n-ta* '(someone) takes part **in** the Olympic games'

b. *sampaeyk mi-kyengcwu-ey na-ka-n-ta* '(someone) **enters** the 400 meter race'

C. goes forth (into), launches (into), enters (upon) comes out (in)

a. *hakkyo-lul colep-hako sahwey-ey na-ka-n-ta* '(someone) goes forth **into** the world after finishing one's schooling'

b. *congkyey-ey na-ka-n-ta* '(someone) **enters** upon a

political career'

c. *sakyokyey-ey na-ka-n-ta* '(someone) comes out, goes **into** society'

The third class takes its form *na-a-ka-ta*, etymologically related but semantically distinct from *na-ka-ta*. I will not dwell on this, but list some examples for comparison

(3) Class III (*na-a-ka-ta*)

A. advances, proceeds (on one's way), goes (steps) forward, makes one's way

a. *han-kelum na-a-ka-se* 'going one step forward (beyond)', 'moreover' or 'besides'

b. *pay-ka phokphwung-ul hyang-hay na-a-ka-n-ta* 'a ship makes headway against a gale'

B. makes progress, progresses, advances, improves, gets on with

a. *halwu-ey han-page-ssik na-a-ka-n-ta* 'does (reads, learns, finishes) a page a day'

b. *il-i ppalli na-a-ka-n-ta* 'makes rapid progress with one's work'

It is noteworthy that all the English translations in (2) contain the prepositions 'in,' 'into,' or even 'enter' which I highlighted in boldface for the reader's attention. This is somewhat puzzling in that the typical meaning of *na-ka-ta* is 'exiting' as

illustrated in (1) rather than its antonymic 'entering.' How can we explain such an unexpected association of the IN relationship between the trajector ('someone' or 'something' heading toward an endpoint) and the landmark (as the goal of the intransitive verb 'enter') in English, while the association of the trajector and S1 is reversed with the OUT relation in Korean? This is the question I would like to address in the rest of this paper. But, before we do so, let us examine some aspects of the semantic structure of the verb *na-ka-ta* in the next section.

3. The semantic structure of *na-ka-ta* and Spatial Categorization in Korean

3.1. Semantic Profile of *na-ka-ta*.

The semantic structure of the unaccusative compound verb *na ka-ta* 'exit' is fairly simple and straightforward in that it typically involves a trajector and a set of landmarks: the source space (the initial landmark) and the goal space (the terminal landmark). The source space is where the trajector originates and it serves as a reference point away from which the trajector's movement is directed, while the goal space is the reference point

(or an endpoint) toward which the trajector is directed through an aperture usually implicit in sentences.[2]

(4) Selena-ka pang-eyse twismwun ul thong-haye ttul-ey/lo
Selena-NOM room from backdoor through yard-to
na ka-ss ta
go-out-PAST
'Selena went out from the room to the yard through the backdoor.'

In (4) all the relevant semantic elements are present---a trajector (*Selena*), an initial landmark (*pang* 'room'), and a terminal landmark (*ttul* 'yard') together with a secondary landmark ('backdoor').

We assume a subcategorization schema for the verbs *na-ka-ta* 'exit,' which may look something like (5).

(5) EXIT X FROM S1 TO S2 (THROUGH P)

where X is a trajector, S1 is a source space, S2 is a goal space, P is a port (an aperture or an opening). S1 and S2 are immediately contiguous to each other. The scalar difference between S1 and S2 is expressed by the inequality S1⟩S2 or S1⟨S2.

2 See the characterization of motion verbs as unaccusative verbs in Miagawa (1989) and Tsunmura (1991).

Similarly, we may have (6) for *tul-e-ka-ta* 'to enter'

(6) ENTER X ___ FROM S1 TO S2 (THROUGH P)

(5) and (6) may be collapsed into (7) by replacing EXIT and ENTER with a generic MOVE and setting up a set of provisions (i) and (ii).

(7) MOVE X ___ FROM S1 TO S2 (THROUGH P)

(i) MOVE) EXIT, if the spatial relation S1⊂S2 holds in a given context.

(ii) MOVE) ENTER, if the spatial relation S1⊃S2 holds in a given context.

In (4) *pang* 'room' is smaller than *ttul* 'garden', and the provision of the spatial relation (7i) is satisfied, therefore *na-ka-ta* is appropriate.

(8) Na-nun kolmok-kil-eyse khun kil-ey/lo na-ka-ss-ta
I-TOP alley-from big street-to go-out-PAST
'I got out of a small alley to a boulevard.'

The appropriateness of the usage of *na-ka-ta* in (4) and (8) is straightforward. Similarly, the semantic ill-formedness of (9) below is not entirely unexpected, since one can easily see the nature of 'a turnpike' as an entity metaphorically analogous to an enclosed tube or a tunnel allowing traffic only through

narrow entrances and a terminal. Hence not *na-ka-ta* but *tul-e-ka-ta* is sanctioned, as in (9b), irrespective of the relative difference in terms of actual physical scale of the two spaces, i.e. 'alley' versus 'turnpike.'

(9) a. */?Na-nun kolmok-kil-eyse yumlyo-toolo-ey/lo
I-TOP alley-from turnpike-to
na-ka-ss-ta
exit-PAST
Intended reading: 'I got out of a small alley onto the turnpike.'

b. Na-nun kolmok-eyse yumlyo-toolo-ey/lo tul-e-ka-ss-ta
I-TOP alley-from turnpike-to **enter**-PAST
'I **got out of** a small alley **onto** the turnpike.'

By the same token, H College as S2 in (10) is a more narrowly restricted entity than the space S1, of which Yeni had been a member prior to the admission. The presupposed S1 of (10) is a formidable army of aspirants seeking admission to the college, S2.

(10) Yeni-nun H-tayhak-ey tul-e-ka-ss-ta
Yeni-TOP H-college-to enter-PAST
'Yeni is admitted to H College.'

3. 2. Two conceptual realms in Korean

In the previous section I showed how Korean speakers interpret two opposing spaces (i.e a source space and a goal space) differently in terms of scale from the S1⟩S2 relation to the S1⟨S2 relation such that they select the EXIT verb and the ENTER verb depending on the given scalar relation (either S1⟩S2 or S1⟨S2.) That is, a space may be a goal requiring the ENTER verb, but the same space may turn out to be a goal calling for the EXIT verb just in case such a goal space is interpreted as conceptually being greater than the trajector's originating space. In this section I demonstrate that such a space interpretation or recategorization is quite extensive in Korean.

Observe the following sentences:

(11) a Kim-kyoswu-nun Cheju Enehakhoy-ey tul-e-ka-ss-ta
Kim-prof-TOP Cheju Ling. Society-to **enter**-PAST
'Professor Nam has become a member of the Cheju Linguistic Society.'

b Kim-kyoswu-nun Cheju Enehakhoy-ey na-ka-ss-ta
Kim-Prof.-TOP Cheju Ling. Society-to **exit**-PAST
'Prof. Kim attended the Cheju Linguistic Society (e.g. for a paper presentation.)'

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In the sentences of (11), the speaker interprets the entity known as *Cheju Enehakhoy* 'Cheju Linguistic Society' in two distinct ways. That is, *Cheju Enehakhoy* in (11a) is regarded as an academic society closed to non-members. In this reading, the conceptual spatial relation S1 (the space to which Professor Nam belongs) ⟩ S2 (Cheju Linguistic Society) holds, hence the selection of *tul-e-ka-ta* 'enter' is appropriate according to the provision (7ii). On the other hand, the same society or society's meeting in (11b) is viewed as an open arena to which researchers go out to present their research results to critical audiences. Contrary to the first reading, the space denoted by *Cheju Enehakhoy* is now interpreted as an open space (irrespective of the conference site's physical enclosure) conceptually larger than Professor Nam's own private space. In the second reading, the spatial relations between the two spaces are in reverse---S1 (the space to which Professor Nam belongs) ⟨ S2 (Cheju Linguistic Society), hence *na-ka-ta* is selected for the predicate of (11b).

(12) Yeni-nun o-nun Olympic-ey na-ka-ki-wihaye
Yeni-TOP up-coming Olympics exit-in order to
mikwuk-ey tul-e-ka-n-ta
US-to enter-NON-PAST
'Yeni will go to America in order to take part in the

up-coming Olympics.'

Sentence (12) is an interesting case. It has a trajector called *Yeni* and three distinct landmark spaces---S1 (the locus where *Yeni* is found), S2 (the Olympics), and S3 (the United States, as an exclusive territorial envelope). The scalar relationships holding among these landmarks may look something like (13b).

(13) a S1 ⟨ S2 ⟨ S3
Yeni's place Olympics United States (Physical Scale)

b S3 ⟨ S1 ⟨ S2
United States *Yeni*'s place Olympics (Conceptual Scale)

ENTER EXIT
c S3 (US) ⟨—— Trajector (*Yeni*) ---⟩ S2 (Olympics)

While (13a) shows the unmarked scalar relations among the three spaces on the physical basis, (13b) represents the relation based on the conceptual scale. Note that the United States, despite its territorial magnitude, is considered restricted as opposed to the space outside its shorelines and continental borderlines. Most important, on the other hand, *Yeni*'s personal locus is regarded as being greater than that of the US but smaller than

that of the Olympics. Thus, as shown in (13c), *Yeni* entered the United States, while she exited to the Olympics. The relativistic fluctuation from one category to another in terms of the dichotomy {Public/Private} in Korean grammar seems to beextensive, as the exchanges in (14) and (15) below show.

(14) A Yeni ka pyengwon ey na ka ss ta
Yeni NOM hospital to get out PAST
'Yeni went to the hospital.'

B Encey pwuthe yo?
when since
'Since when?'

B' Pyengwon-ey nun wey? Onul-un pipen i-n tey...
hospital-to CONTR why today-CONTR off-duty is
'Why in the world did she go to the hospital? She is off-duty today.'

The speaker B of (14) presupposes that *Yeni* is an employee of the hospital. Observe the contrast between (14) and (15) below.

(15) A Yeni ka pyengwon ey tul e ka ss ta
Yeni NOM hospital in enter PAST
'Yeni is in the hospital.' (Literally: 'She entered the hospital.')

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B Pyengwon-ey-nun wey? Yeni-ka aph-e?
hospital-to-CONTR why Yeni-NOM ill
'Why in the world did she go to the hospital? Is she ill?'

The response by Speaker B in (15) indicates that B presupposes that *Yeni*'s visit to the hospital is as a patient. What (14) and (15) show is that the entity 'hospital' is ambiguous in terms of the spatial category---(i) an open arena where one demonstrates one's expertise and submits oneself to actual or perceived evaluation, and (ii) a closed sphere where one receives treatment and operations in a non-contesting environment. The speaker's (A and B) lexical selection of the EXIT verb (*na-ka-ta*) in (14) and the ENTER verb (*tul-e-ka-ta*) in (15) is therefore dependent on the speaker's interpretation of the relative scale between the source space (*Yeni*'s personal space) and the goal space (hospital). Note that *Yeni*'s personal space is not necessarily consistent to the extent that it may turn out to be a small cocoon-like space as in (14) or as an unspecified realm containing an undefined non-patient population (outside the hospital), of which *Yeni* is a member.

(16) Nam sensayng nim un pangkum hoyuy-ey
na-ka-si-ess-nun tey-yo

'Professor Nam has just gone to the meeting.'

(17) Nam-sensayng-nim i yenkwusil ey na-ka si-nun kes
po a-ss-nun-tey-yo
'(I tell you) I saw Professor Nam go to his office.'

By the same reason, in (16) and (17), *hoyuy* 'meeting' and *yenkwusil* 'office' are both public spheres where *Nam sensayng* 'Professor Nam 'works, and thus they are greater in scale than Professor Nam 's personal space (say, 'home'). In comparison, to English speakers, the landmark spaces in the discourse may be said to be more or less constant, and therefore the selection of EXIT and ENTER is a relatively simple operation. Korean speakers' relativistic interpretation of landmark spaces is also observable in sentences predicated by *na-ta* 'to appear/emerge,' 'to reveal oneself,' another form of unaccusative EXIT verb, and *nay-ta*, 'to produce/ submit,' its transitive counterpart.

3.3. A Special Source Space and the Unaccusative Verb *na-ta* 'to appear'

There is a set of verbs which has to do with 'appearance' or 'genesis' in general- the unaccusative *na-ta* 'to appear' and its transitive version *nay-ta* 'to produce.'

3.3.1. *na-ta*---The Verb of Genesis

Since the verb *na-ta* is the base of the compound *na-ka-ta*, the verb *na-ta* must be expected to have all the semantic essentials of the latter. Indeed this is the case. In fact, the notion of genesis may be regarded as a special or extremely skewed case of the EXIT verb which we are considering in this paper. One may also view the unaccusative verb *na-ta* rather as archetypal to *na-ka-ta*. In this view, *na-ka-ta* may be a metonymic extension of *na-ta*.

One crucial characteristic of *na-ta* which distinguishes it from *na-ka-ta* is that in the former the trajector (T) and the source space (S1) bear a special relation---the subject (trajector) of *na-ta* must be derived from a given matrix (S1) which constitutes organically of the basic substance of the trajector itself. On the other hand, the relationship between the trajector and S1 of *na-ka-ta* is accidental, and there are no derivational ties between them.

The following is a list of typical definition of the entry *na-ta* found in Martin et al's Dictionary (1967:286), which for convenience I have grouped into six major classes in terms of semantic properties of S1.

(18) A. Meiotic S1: *elinay-ka na-ta* 'a child is born'; *namwu-eyse em-i na-ta* 'a tree puts forth buds'; *thek-ey swuyem-i na-ta* 'one's chin sprouts a beard'; *elinay i-ka na-ta* 'a child cuts its teeth'; *nwun-mwul i na-ta* 'x flows tears'; *khosmwul i na-ta* 'x's nose runs'; **phi-ka na-ta* 'x bleeds', *sangche-ka na-ta* 'x gets wounded'

B. Perceptual S1: *nopun soli ka na-ta* 'x sounds loud'; *cohun naymsay-ka na-ta* 'x smells sweet'; *mas i na-ta* 'x is elegant'; *thay-ka na-ta* 'x looks nice'; *mas-i na-ta* 'x tastes good'; *pyeng i na-ta* 'x becomes sick'

C. Inorganic S1: *pwul i na-ta* 'a fire breaks out'; *hongswu-ka na-ta* 'x has a flood'; *kochang i na-ta* 'x has a breakdown'; *kwumeng-i na-ta* 'a hole opened'

D. Sociological S1: *nanli-ka na-ta* 'a war breaks out'; *sako-ka na-ta* 'x has an accident'; *thal-i na-ta* 'x runs into a hitch'; *khun il-i na-ta* 'x has trouble'

E. Psychological S1: *kol-i na-ta* 'x gets angry'; *sayngkak-i na-ta* 'x comes into one's mind'; **saym-i na-ta* 'x is jealous of y'; **sin i na-ta* 'x gets excited'; **yoksim-i na-ta* 'x is avaricious'; **tham-i na-ta* 'x is covetous of y'

F. Subterranean/Celestial/Atmospheric S1: ttang eyse *phwul-i na-ta* 'the ground sprouted grass'; *kum i na-ta* 'gold is found in x'; **sekyu-ka na-ta* 'x produces oil'; **khong i na-ta* 'beans grow'; **cicin-i na-ta* 'an

earthquake occurs': *•hay-ka na-ta* 'it shines or the sun (re)appears': *•pyel-na-ta* 'stars appear.'

The starred items in (18) are the ones which I adjoined to the list. From the above list, some semantic properties of the various source space of *na-ta* may be extracted, and I summarize them in (19).

(19) The Semantic Characteristics of S1 of the Inchoative Verb *na-ta*

a. Regarded as a special, extremely skewed case of the typical source space characteristic to *na ka-ta*. The S1 of *na-ka-ta* allows the locomotion of its T (trajector) within its range.

b. Tightly confined, allowing no hollow or vacuum to allow free locomotion of the trajector.

c. Generally conceived as an entity that is obscure, uncharted, elusive to the extent that it is often regarded as null or nothing.

d. Conceived as a matrix or 'ground substance' from which a trajector evolves in the organic, meiotic, inchoative, hence involuntary fashion.

Based on the observations alluded to in (19), the provisions (7i) and (7ii) established earlier for the semantic structure of EXIT in Korean may now be

expanded as follows:

(20) MOVE: X ___ FROM S1 TO S2 (THROUGH P)

I. MOVE ——————〉 EXIT (*na ka ta*), if the spatial relation S1⊂S2 holds in a given context.
[-Agent]

II a. MOVE ——〉 EXIT ——〉 EXIT ONESELF (EMERGE) (*na-ta*),
[+Agent] if the spatial relation S1⊂S2 holds in a given context, T and S1 are in a genetic relation, i.e. T is organically derived from S1 as a matrix. S2 is an unspecified space external to the matrix.

b. MOVE ——〉 CAUSE X TO EXIT ——〉 PRODUCE X (*nay ta*),
[+Agent] if the spatial relation S1⊂S2 holds in a given context, T and S1 are in a genetic relation, i.e. T may be organically or inorganically derived from S1 as a matrix. S2 is an unspecified space external to the matrix.

III MOVE ——〉 ENTER, if the spatial relation S1⊃S2 holds in a given context.
[-Agent]

Note that MOVE is now specified according to the feature of Agentivity, to allow for the intransitive/transitive distinction in the provisions. Note in (20IIa) that the semantic primitive MOVE is not

analyzed as more specific EXIT ONESELF or EMERGE. By the same token, CAUSE X TO EXIT or PRODUCE X in (20IIb) is a special instance of EXIT featured with [+AGENT], where X is an arbitrary internal argument, i.e. a trajectory theme.

3.3.2. The Accusative Verb *nay-ta* and the Implicit Source Space

The accusative verb *nay-ta* is generally considered as being derived from *na-* by affixing the causative morpheme *-i* or *hi* (i.e. *na-* + *i* ---> *nay*).[3] I list here some examples of the usage of the accusative verb *nay-ta* which are also borrowed from Martin et al (1967:317-8).

(21)

A. Explicit Source Spaces

1. *tampay-lul nay-ta* '---takes cigarettes out of one's pocket' (*from the pocket*)
2. *cha-lul nay-ta* '---offers tea' (*from the kitchen*)
3. *mo-lul nay-ta* '---sets out (transpants) rice plants' (*from the seedbed*)
4. *colepsayng-ul nay-ta* '---turns out graduates' (*from the school*)
5. *wi'in-ul nay-ta* '---produces great men' (from the town)
6. *chayk-ul nay-ta* 'x publishes a book' (*from the publishing firm*)
7. *yepi-lo chen wen-ul nay ta* '--puts out 1,000 wen for travel money' (*from the budgetary fund*)

B. Implicit Source Spaces

1. a. *seng (hwa)-ul nay-ta* ' gets angry' (*from a certain locus in one's brain?*)
   b. *kwumeng-ul nay-ta* ' makes an opening' (*on the surface of a material?*)
2. *ilum-ul nay-ta* '---makes a name for oneself' (*from one's own private space?*)
3. *ciwense lul nay ta* '--submits an application' (*from one's own private space?*)
4. *somwun-ul nay-ta* '---starts a rumor' (*from one's own private space?*)
5. *phyenci-lul nay-ta* ' mails a letter' (*from one's own private space?*)

As I give them in the parentheses after each sentence, the source spaces of Group A are fairly easy to restore from the given contexts, even if they are not explicit in the sentences. In contrast, those of Group B are somewhat elusive and semantically difficult to pinpoint. Nonetheless, considering the potential source spaces I suggested in the parentheses, the SI of each item in the B Group may be characterized as either the agent's own material base from which it is generated or the agent's own private space. Such a source space as the material base of a trajector of the B group is

[3] I assume without argument that the verb *nah-ta* 'to give birth' is derived from *na-hi-ta* in which the causative morpheme *hi* is suffixed to the intransitive *na-*.

regarded as something obscure, compact, allowing no vacuum, and as being null. Similarly, as I have already noted in Section 3.2., the agent's own private space as the source space may be regarded as an insignificant, marginal, cocoon-like space having a tiny window open to the outer world. Hence, the semantically appropriate predicate verb must be EXIT---or more specifically PRODUCE---*nay-ta* in compliance to the provision (20IIb).

The goal space (S2) of the transitive verb of PRODUCE, *nay-ta*, is explicitly present, albeit its source space (S1) is intangible and obscure.

(22) Yeni-ka sinmwun-ey kwangko-lul nay-ss-ta.
Yeni NOM newspaper-on ad-ACC put-out-PAST
'Yeni put an ad in the newspaper.'

(23) Yeni-ka Mall-ey kakyey lul nay ss ta
Yeni NOM Mall-in shop ACC open PAST
'Yeni opened a shop in the Mall.'

(24) Mirena-ka Biennial-ey cakpwum ul nay ss ta
Mirena-NOM Biennial-to artwork-ACC submit PAST
'Mirena entered the Biennial with her artwork.'

Publishing, opening stores, holding art shows, etc. are all involved withb special goal spaces which share characteristics of public arenas --the space greater than an individual's meager cocoon-like

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private space.

To recapitulate, the usage of *na-ka-ta* reflects the Koreans' spatial cognition of the public domain, which is greater in scale in comparison to the private one. The Korean speaker conceives his/her own private territory as a tiny shack or cave-like place. The outside world as a public domain is something comparable to a great stage or arena to which one must figuratively creep out. The wide-open space as public domain is the place where one acts, behaves, and performs under scrutiny of various sorts. One 'humbles/submits/renders oneself' to entities greater than oneself---authoritative institutions---to their disposal. In such a space, one is evaluated, appreciated, and criticized. This line of conceptualization is, of course, not fashionable in view of today's pervasive egalitarian norm, nonetheless such anachronistic conceptualization of social institutions seems to be deeply ingrained in the Korean people's (for that matter in that of the Japanese as well) idea of 'public,' which markedly contrasts with the contemporary Western way of looking at authority.

4. Public Space as An Arena

In the previous sections, I examined the semantic

structures of the verbs of EXIT such as *na-ka-ta* and *na-ta* together with its transitive counterpart *nay-ta* in Korean. I have also shown that, although no essential semantic differences are found between the English 'exit' or 'get out' and the Korean *na-ka-ta*, there are cases where the Korean *na-ka-ta* is regarded as being equivalent to ENTER rather than EXIT in a completely reversed way. I attributed such contradictory readings to the Korean speakers' way of interpreting the relevant landmark spaces, instead of attributing it to a set of selection restrictions lexically imposed on the verb. To put it in another way, the meaning of *na-ka-ta* is constant as in the English 'exit', but the seeming semantic reversals occur just in case *na-ka-ta* is found in a situation where a goal space S2 is physically smaller but conceptually greater than the source space S1.

What the present study suggests then is that public space as such to Korean speakers may be viewed as a place where an individual is under observation and scrutiny by 'audiences,' which make up an entity called the 'public.' A public space is conceived here not as an uncommitted neutral sphere but a dynamic arena of intense competition.

4.1. Counterexamples

There are, however, some apparent counterexamples to the analysis I proposed in the preceding section. By dealing with these seemingly contradictory cases, I will elaborate further the notion of what I call 'public space.' The following are clearly contradictory to the present analysis.

(25) a. ??Nam-kyoswu-ka swuep-ey na-ka-ss-ta
Nam-Prof-NOM class-to **exit**-PAST
'Professor Nam went to class.'

b. Nam-kyoswu-ka swuep-ey tul-e-ka-ss-ta
Nam-Prof-NOM class-in **enter**-PAST
'Professor Nam went to class.'

The classroom is a workplace for Professor K, and furthermore it is a public domain, therefore, (25a) should be no problem. Yet unexpectedly, the verb *na-ka-* is out of place, and the antonymous *tul-e-ka-* is required, as shown in the legitimate (25b). In (25b), the class that Professor *Nam* teaches is unmistakably a workplace, but it is a special realm which is regarded as being confined under his complete control. The professor does not submit or render himself to his students' scrutiny in that particular setting, but he dominates it. In this regard, to the professor, his students are not

'audience' in the ordinary sense nor is his class an arena in the sense discussed above.

(26) Kakkwuk senswu tul i Olympic hweycang ey tul e o ko i ta
each country athletes NOM Olympic arena into be ent ing
'Athletes from all over the world are entering into the Olympic arena.'

Suppose (26) is a statement made by a sportscaster watching an opening ceremonial procession into the stadium. The sentence constitutes a clear counterexample to the present analysis. Since the stadium is precisely none other than an arena packed with audiences from all over the world, where the Olympians in the procession will soon compete against each other, the appropriate verb should be EXIT (*na-o-ta* —literally 'come out' because the reporter is in the IN relation with reference to the stadium) instead of *tul-e-o-ta* (ENTER). However, in (26) the stadium is interpreted as a ceremonial site but not as an arena. The reason for this is that no competition has taken place in the stadium, and in the strict sense, the stadium is not an arena yet. Therefore, (26) requires the ENTER verb (*tul-e-o-ta*).

4.2. Cancellation

There is still another set of counterexamples. Let us assume that (27) is announced by a sportscaster

from his stand inside the stadium as he reports that the world's fastest marathon champion (Mr. Sohn) has just entered the stadium.

(27) Sohn senswu ka cikum mak kyengki cang ey *tul-e-o-ko*
Sohn champion-NOM just now stadium into
iss upnita.
be-entering
'(Mr.) Sohn has just come into the arena.'

The sentence would turn out to be unacceptable if the reporter used *na-ka-ta* 'exit' in the place of *tul-e-o-* 'enter,' despite the fact that the stadium is an arena where the competition had not only been in session for days but it even reached its climax at that very moment. And yet, ENTER (*tul-e-ka-ta*) instead of EXIT (*na-ka-ta*). Why? It is because, I think, Mr. Sohn had already been in the competition at the time. He appeared (*na-ka-ta*) in the stadium at the starting point of the marathon course two hours and some minutes ago. What I am suggesting here is that once the trajector has moved and is found inside the goal space, then the trajector's IN relation (with respect to the goal space, i.e. the stadium as an arena) is neutralized. Hence, no longer is the stadium viewed as "an arena in which for one to submit oneself for evaluation."

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In general, if S1⟨S2 and T(trajector) is in S1, T is naturally interpreted as in the OUT relation with respect to S2. In such a situation, MOVE is lexically realized as EXIT (*na-ka-ta*). Now suppose that T's EXIT has been completed, and T is found eventually within the boundary of S2. Then, it goes without saying that T's OUT relation with reference to the S2 is automatically dissolved. Within the S2, the same T must be reoriented according to an axial landmark still available in that new premise. Let us illustrate this again with other examples.

(28) Nam sensayng-nim-i pangkum hoyuy-ey
Nam-Prof-NOM just now meeting-to
na-ka-si-ess-nun-tey-yo.
exit-HONO-PAST
'Professor Nam has just gone to the meeting.'

(29) Nam sensayng-nim-un pangkum hweyuy-ey
Nam-Prof-TOP just now meeting-to
tul-e-ka-si-ess-nun-tey-yo.
enter-HONO-PAST
'Professor Nam has just gone to the meeting.'

In (28), the speaker interprets the source space and the goal space to be in the S1⟨S2 relation because S2 is assumed to be a public sphere where the professor would find himself as a visiting person (in the OUT relation with reference to the goal space

'meeting') and dispose himself to other's perceived evaluative observances. Hence MOVE is lexicalized as *na-ka-ta* (EXIT). In contrast, the ENTER verb *tul-e-ka-ta* of (29) implies a presupposition associated with (29) that the space (S2) referred to as *hweyuy* 'meeting' is an affair internal with respect to the space (S1), where the professor had already appeared. Again, the professor's OUT relation with respect to the goal space, 'the university' is dissolved. Now, within that premise (i.e. the university campus) if the meeting is internal (i.e. departmental), the professor may be reoriented in the S1, which is now his department. Since the meeting as S2 is department-internal, therefore there holds S1⟩S2 and *tul-e-ka-ta*, i.e. the ENTER verb is selected.

5. Cross-Linguistic Correspondences

The culturally biased public/private dichotomy of space categorization in Korean is also common in Japanese. The Japanese unaccusative verb *de-ru* 'get out of x' shows correspondences in great detail with the Korean counterparts *na-ka-ta* and *na-ta*.[4]

4 Etymologically the Japanese unaccusative *de-ru* seems to correspond to the Korean *ttu-ta*. Both words sharing the meaning of 'to appear', as shown in the following examples.

5.1. The unaccusative verb *de-ru* in Japanese

The correspondence between the verb *de-ru* in (30) and the verb *na-ka-ta* in (8) is self-evident. Both *de-ru* and *na-ka-ta* share in having their S2 ('boulevard'), defined as greater than S1 ('alley'), so both of them are interpreted as having an EXIT

Ex 1 a Tal-i (Hay-ka) ttu-ess-ta (Korean)
moon-NOM sun-NOM appeared
'The moon (the sun) arose'

b Tuki-ga (Hi-ga) deru (Japanese)
moon-NOM sun-NOM appeared
'The moon (The sun) arose'

Phonologically, the initial syllable of the two words share the features the alveolar stop and certain medial quality of the vowel. The first syllable *tte* of the Korean *tte-na-ta* 'set out' (*de-ru* in Japanese) is a variant of *ttu-*. However, semantically the two words have become apart in that *de-ru* corresponds to *na-ta* in terms of the GENESIS meaning, as in Ex 2.

Ex 2 a Aki-ka yel-i na-n-ta
baby-NOM heat-NOM come out
'The baby has a fever'

b Aka-tyan-ga netu-ga de-ru
baby-NOM heat-NOM come-out
'The baby has a fever'

As I point out in Section 5, the Japanese unaccusative verb *de-ru* corresponds to *na-ka-ta* on the one hand, and *na-ta* on the other. The Japanese *de-ru* can take the deictic locomotive verb *iku* 'to go' to form a compound *de-te-ik-u* which is roughly equivalent to *na-ka-ta* but perhaps more so to *na-a-ka-ta* 'advance' which I characterize as Class III in (3) above.

reading. The correspondence is clear in (9a) and (31a) as well, where the EXIT reading is no longer available because the S2 is now 'turnpike,' which is interpreted as an enclosed cylindrical space with limited openings. Irrespective of physical size and depite being in the open air, in comparing the turnpike and the alley, Japanese and Korean speakers perceive the turnpike as having smaller contextual space than the alley. Therefore, the ENTER verbs *hair-u* in (31b), *tul-e-ka-ta* in (9b) are selected.

(30) Watasi-wa komiti-kara oodoori-ni deta
I-TOP alley from boulevard to **exit**-PAST
'I got out of a small alley onto a boulevard.'

(31) a */?Watasi wa komiti-kara yuuryoo dooro-ni deta
I-TOP alley-from turnpike to **exit** PAST
'I got out of a small alley onto the turnpike'

b Watasi-wa komiti-kara yuuryoo dooro-ni hai-t-ta
I-TOP alley from turnpike-to **enter**-PAST
'**I got out of** a small alley **onto** the turnpike'

In (32a) and (32b) below, *Nihon Gengo Gakkai* (Linguistic Society of Japan) is interpreted in two different ways. In the former, the society is a closed academic organization which requires membership, while in the latter the same organization is

interpreted as a place for academic exchanges. In the latter reading the society is interpreted as an arena or stage with a large audience, namely a public space. Although in the first interpretation, the society is unmistakably a public space, it lacks the stage-like feature inherent to the second reading. Thus, the public or civil feature is a necessary condition for the public space under scrutiny in this paper. The notion of public space must have a sufficient condition---competitiveness or perceived evaluative components.

(32) a. Shiba-sensei-wa Nihon Gengo Gakkai ni
Shiba-prof.-TOP Linguistic Society of Japan to
hai-t-ta
enter-PAST
'Professor Shiba has become a member of the Linguistic Society of Japan.'

b. Shiba-sensei-wa Nihon Gengo Gakkai ni
Shiba-prof.-TOP Linguistic Society of Japan-to
de-ta
exit-PAST
'Professor Shiba attended the Linguistic Society of Japan (e.g. for presentation)

In (32a) *gakkai* ('the society'), as a closed society, which is in the OUT relation with the trajector Shiba *sensei*, requires the ENTER verb

On the other hand, in (32b) the directional relation between the landmark space and the trajector is reversed from OUT to IN. Thus, the predicate takes an EXIT verb.

The Japanese sentences (34A), (34B) and (34B') below are equivalent to (14A), (14B), and (14B'), respectively. Just as in (14), the exchanges between speakers A and B suggest that *Yoshiko* is an employee of the hospital, and therefore, 'the hospital' is interpreted as the goal space which is greater than the personal space of *Yoshiko*. Hence, the predicate verb is *de-ru* 'exit.'

(33) A. Yoshiko-wa byooin-ni dete iru
Yoshiko-TOP hospital to **exit**
'Yoshiko has been working at a hospital.'

B. Itu-kara?
when-from
'Since when?'

B'. Byoo'in-ni-t-te? Kyoo kanozyo hiban zya nakatta-ka no?
hospital-to-you-say? today she off-duty isn't
'Why in the world at the hospital? Wasn't she off-duty today?'

The occurrance of *hair-u* in (34A) is appropriate for exactly the same reason as in the Korean counterpart in (14A).

(34) A Yoshiko-ga byoo'in ni **hai-t-ta**
Yoshiko-NOM hospital to **enter**-PAST
'Yoshiko is in the hospital.' (Literally, 'She entered the hospital.')

B Byoo'in? Yoshiko doko-ka warui no?
hospital Yoshiko somewhere bad
'In the hospital? Is something wrong with her?'

We also find an exact parallelism between the set of (35) and (36) and that of (28) and (29) above.

(35) Ogura sensei-wa imasigata kenkyuusitu ni
Ogura-Prof-TOP just now office-to
de rare-masita
exit-HONO-POL-PAST
'Professor Ogura has just left for his office.'

(36) Ogura sensei-wa imasigata kenkyuusitu ni
Ogura-Prof-TOP just now meeting-to
hai rare-masita
enter-HONO-POL-PAST
'Professor Ogura went in his office just now.'

As in the Korean cases, the alternation of *de-ru* (EXIT) to *hair-u* (ENTER) is determined according to the speaker's interpretation of the given goal space. Namely in (35) S2 is a workplace as an open space which is viewed from the outside of the university, while the S2 of (6) is no longer

considered as an arena. In the latter, the OUT relation of the university with reference to the professor is cancelled on the assumption that he is already in the university premise. Now, his office is interpreted as his private space, a non-competitive setting.

5.2. Sino-Japanese and Sino-Korean Dyadic Compounds Containing the Chinese Verb *chu*

Korean and Japanese contain a large number of Chinese binoms (the dyadic combination of Chinese ideograms) in their lexicons. The Chinese (*putonghwa*) equivalent of the EXIT verb of Korean and Japanese is the first tone *chu*, pronounced *chwul* in Korean and *syutu* in Japanese. Dyadic compounds containing *chu* may be grouped into five or six classes, which I list below. (For the expository purpose I will use the Chinese ideogram *chu* in the Mandarin pronounciation as a generic token of the Korean *chul* and the Japanese *syutu*.)

(37)

	Initial ideogram	2nd ideogram
Class I	*chu*	V
Class II	*chu*	N (as a trajector or a theme)

Class IIIA	*chu (fa)*	N (as S1) meiotic/organic source space
Class IIIB	*chu*	N (as S1) mechanical/ inorganic source space
Class IV	*chu*	N (as S2)
Class V	N or V	*chu*

where V= verb; N=noun; S1 = source space; S2 = goal space.

In the next section, after I briefly give some examples of the classes I, II, and V, which are less relevant to the present discussion, I will move on to Class IIIA and IIIB and IV.

5.2.1. Classed I and V

The Korean examples of Class I include words like the following: (The Japanese counterparts are given in parentheses. For the sake of convenience, I provided hyphenation to show the initial segment and the terminal.)

(38) Class I [*chu*+V]

a. *chwul-pal* (*syup-patu*)——set off, departure
b. *chwul-chang* (*syut-tyoo*)——travelling for official business
c. *chwul-tong* (*syutu-doo*)——mobilizing military units, etc.
d. *chwul-hyen* (*syutu-gen*)——appearance, emergence

(39) Class V [N/V+*chwul*]

a. *no-chwul* (*ro-syutu*)——disclosure, (photographic) exposure
b. *sok-chwul* (*zoku-syutu*)——appearance in a successive manner
c. *cey-chwul* (*tei-syutu*)——submission of application, etc.
d. *ka-chwul* (*ka-syutu*)——runaway (from home)
e. *yenchwul* (*ensyutu*)——production, staging

In *chu*-initial binoms, three types of the second component are recognized: (i) a noun as a trajector, (ii) a noun that represents the source space, and (iii) a noun as a goal space.

The first type is given as Class II in (37). For instance, the second part of the dyad *chwul-hyel* (or Japanese *syuk-ketu*) 'to bleed' or 'bleeding' is a trajector (blood), so that what is getting out from the source space (in this case a body part) is blood itself. I list a few examples of this class in the immediately following subsection.

5.2.2. Class II

(40) Class II [*chwul*+N]

1. Unaccusative Type
   a. *chwul-hyel* (*syuk-ketu*)——bleeding, to bleed
   b. *chwul-pi* (*syup-pi*)——expense

c. *chwul-hwa (syuk-ka)*——breaking out fire

2 Transitive Type

a *chwul-ha (syuk-ka)*——export
b *chwul-pwum (syup-pin*——submission to an exhibition
c *chwul-cey (syutu-dai)*——putting questions in an exam, composing exams
d *chwul-phan (syup-pan)*——publication
e *chwul-san (syus-san)*——giving birth
f *chwul-lyek (syutu-ryoku)*——output (of power), generating capacity

I will return to the second transitive type of Class II later. But, of greatest concern in this section are the two subclasses of Class III and Class IV, all of which are involved in the private and public spaces under discussion.

5.3. Two Subtypes of Sino-Korean Class III Binoms

Let us move on to Class III, which is composed of the EXIT verb in the initial position and a noun in the second position. As indicated in (37), the noun of the second position in Class III implies either a space of organic emergence (Class IIIA) or a space of inorganic production (Class IIIB).

Since we have already established in (18A) a special class of the Korean EXIT verb *na-ta*, which

I characterized as the verb of genesis, it is reasonable to expect something that corresponds to this class in the Sino-Korean binoms, and that is Class IIIA, because the class is set up particularly to accommodate genesis verbs. However, to my surprise, I did indeed find some examples of the initial *chwul*-binom of Class IIIA in the Japanese and Korean data. In the former, I found only three cases. One of them is *syutu-ga*. However, even this verb is normally substituted by *hatu-ga* 'budding, sprouting, germination.' The second example is *syus-shi* or *shutu-ho* 'ripening of rice,' which is used as a compound *shus-shi-ki* 'the ripening season.' The third one is *syut-tan* 'coal production', which appears to be a technical term. The rarity or near non-existence of the verb may be explaned as follows.

The Chinese ideogram for the EXIT verb suited for Class IIIA seems to be not *chu* but *fa* in the first tone 'to originate,' or 'to generate,' which corresponds to *pal* in Korean and *hatu* in Japanese. In other words, in Chinese (correspondingly in Korean as well as in Japanese) the organic emergence and the departure from a mechanical or physical source are distinguished lexically such that the former is expressed by *fa* 'to start,' 'to originate,' 'to give rise to,' 'to generate,' 'to

produce,' while the latter by *chu* 'to get out,' 'to depart.' Thus, the Sino-Korean (Sino-Japanese) Class IIIA binoms are all in the form of [*fa*+N] instead of [*chu*+N]. The [*fa*+N] form semantically corresponds to the specific GENESIS verb *na-ta*, while the [*chu*+N] form corresponds to the general EXIT verb *na-ka-ta*. In Japanese, on the other hand, the *de-ru* form covers two Sino-Japanese forms uniformly. Unlike Korean, then, the EXIT verb is not functionally specified in terms of GENESIS versus the mechanical DEPARTURE.

The following are examples for the Class IIIA type in the form of [*fa*+S1]:

(41) Class IIIA [EXIT (*fa*) +SOURCE SPACE(S1)] where S1 is organic substance.

a. *pal-a* (*hatu-ga*)——germination, sprouting
b. *pal-pyeng* (*hatu-byoo*)——falling ill, an attack (of a disease)
c. *pal-cin* (*has-sin*)——rash, eruption, efflorescence
d. *pal-cen* (*hatu-den*)——generation of electricity
e. *pal-am* (*hatu-gan*)——carcinogenesis, production of cancer
f. *pal-um* (*hatu-on*)——pronunciation, enunciation
g. *pal-ceng* (*hatu-zyoo*)——sexual excitement
h. *pal-sang* (*has-soo*)——conception

On the other hand, if the source space is a materially tangible or physically perceptible source,

chul is preferred as expected.

(42) Class IIIB: [EXIT+SOURCE SPACE (S1) where S1 is an inorganic source or a place

a. *chwul kwuk* (*syuk-koku*)——departure from a country
b. *chwul-hang* (*syuk-koo*)——departing a port, setting sail
c. *chwul ok* (*syutu goku*)——release from prison

5.4. Sino-Korean binoms of Class IV

The other type, Class IV is characteristic in that the noun in the second position serves as a goal space, as in (43).

(43) a. *chwul-sek* (*syus-seki*)——attendance, being present
b. *chwul-sey* (*syus-se*)——rising in the world, one's mark in life
c. *chwul-cwung*[5]——towering high above the crowd, excellence
d. *chwul-cen* (*syus-sen*)——going to war, participating in an athletic contest
e. *chwul-ceng* (*syut-tei*)——appearance in court

As seen in these examples, this type correlates most closely to (7i), particularly in the case where S2 is an arena of contest or public space under evaluative observance.

To summarize, the marked public/private or

5 No corresponding entry to this word is found in Japanese.

arena/cocoon dichotomy in space categorization in Korean and Japanese is also reflected in the system of Sino-Korean and Sino-Japanese binoms. In Korean, the unmarked EXIT verb (*na-ka-ta*) corresponds to some of the *chu*-initial binoms while the GENESIS (*na-ta*) corresponds to the *fa*-initial binoms. The marked public/private opposition is observed in Japanese in an exactly parallel fashion, except that the single form *de-ru* covers both the generic EXIT reading and the specific GENESIS reading with no further specification.

6. Conclusion

In this paper I presented a set of semantic schema of the Korean verb *na-ka-ta* and showed how the abstract semantic transference MOVE alternates from EXIT to ENTER depending on a speaker's interpretation of a given space (either as an OPEN space or as a CLOSED space). I demonstrated that the Japanese *de-ru* 'to get out' or 'to exit' works in the exactly same manner. I further discussed some of the Sino-Korean as well as Sino-Japanese dyadic compounds which also reflect space categorization particular to Korean and Japanese.

What is found to be significant in this study is

that speakers of Korean and Japanese seem to distinguish a public space from an individual private space by assigning different statuses in terms of a value-based scale. The former is to be 'grand' and great in scale, independent from its physical size, while the latter as being a small and insignificant cocoon-like world. Thus, if a space is cognitively marked as ⟨public⟩, a movement toward such a space---a space greater in scale than a private source space---is necessarily expressed by the verb of EXIT. (The same public space may be interpreted as ⟨private⟩ and hence ⟨small in scale⟩, if the trajector's movement toward such a space happens to be non-official. Accordingly, such a movement needs to be expressed by the verb of ENTER.) Unlike in English (where the use of EXIT and ENTER is determined largely according to the physical scale), the choice of the EXIT verb and the ENTER verb in Korean (and for that matter in Japanese as well) is contingent on the speaker's conceptual interpretation of a given space. Categorizing a space in these languages seems not neutral but severely "biased" and conditioned by the specific culture of the speakers.

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